

in the designs of the politicians who expect to make their appearance in the Northern cities a pretext for popular tumults, they could earn something for themselves, and contribute greatly to the reduction of the expenses of the government, and to the health and comfort of our soldiers in hospital and field. These suggestions are worthy of the attention of those who have our war matters in charge.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1862.

Correspondent will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the contents of the paper, should be addressed, Editor of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 Beekman Street, BOSTON, NEW YORK.

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK.

REMOVAL.

The office of THE STANDARD is now at No. 48 Beekman st., North side, just below William st., in the second story front room.

ANNIVERSARY PROGRAMME.

Tuesday, May 6th.

American Anti-Slavery Society—Anniversary at the Church of the Puritans, on Union Square, at 10 o'clock, a.m. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, President, in the chair. Addresses by WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and others. Admittance free. A collection will be taken for the Society.

American Anti-Slavery Society—Public meeting at the Cooper Institute, in the evening, at 8 o'clock. Addresses by Rev. GEORGE B. CHENEY, D.D., Miss ANNA E. DICKINSON of Philadelphia, and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. Admittance 10 cents, to defray expenses.

Business Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at 3 p.m., in the Lecture Room, of the Church of the Puritans.

Wednesday, May 7th.

Business Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, 10 a.m.

New York Anti-Slavery Society—Anniversary at the Cooper Institute, in the evening, at 8 o'clock—Dr. H. A. HART, President, in the chair. Addresses by THEODORE TILTON and WENDELL PHILLIPS. Admittance 10 cents, to defray expenses.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

We need not remind our readers of the recurrence of this Anniversary, which takes place next Tuesday, according to the announcement at the head of our columns. It will be an occasion of even unusual interest, and one that should bring together an assembly of the old and tried friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, such as has seldom been gathered. These Anniversaries are to a proverb the most attractive and interesting of any held during what the world's papers somewhat profanely style, the Holy Week, and that to outsiders as well as to those within the pale of the anti-slavery community. The instinctive feeling of all intelligent persons—and the American public has never sinned through want of intelligence—that the Anti-Slavery Movement did indeed incarnate all of our current history of any permanent importance, has always overborne the attempts of the mercenary press to throw ridicule and contempt upon it. And then the unquestioned fact that genuine eloquence was only to be found within our walls—for the simple reason that in no other place could the speaker completely resign himself to his theme, and utter whatever word might be given him without thought for party, or sect, or prospects—this fact has always secured us a large audience, through the stinging of their ears, if not from the pricking of their hearts. We do not think that the magnetism of our meetings, in this regard, will be any less this year than formerly.

It will be remembered that the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was omitted the last year from a disposition to avoid even the least appearance of a wish to divert the public attention from the National crisis which was then in the first burning heat of its beginning. An occasion might have been made by the secession party in this city, and throughout the country, to attempt to shift the issue from one with the Southern slaveholders to one with the Northern Abolitionists. In the great uncertainty which then prevailed as to the power of the government to sustain itself, and as to the measures which it would feel to be necessary to take, the responsible authorities of the Society felt that the duty of every good citizen, at that moment, was to give to the government all the confidence and help possible, and to refrain from anything that could by possibility distract or embarrass its counsels. We think that the wisdom of their course has been justified by the results. A meeting, held at that time, could have had but a slight effect, if any, in increasing the spirit of united resistance to slaveholding insolence and violence, which was the chief duty of that hour, while it might have been turned by insidious enemies—perhaps even by unwise friends—into a means of dampening or of misdirecting it. But a twelvemonth has mightily changed the complexion of affairs. The government has taken responsibilities commensurate with the emergency. The North has risen, with a marvellous unanimity, to sustain it. Though the pro-slavery element is far from being eliminated, it is overawed, and is now forced to act under the false pretense of overweening loyalty, and to stab the nation under a show of defending its life. The President has no avowed opponents. He has only enemies, cloaked as friends, to guard against. And, admitting that he has erred in judgment in this or that direction, or as to one appointment or another, we believe the honesty of his purpose and the sincerity of his wish to suppress the rebellion, at any price, are now scarcely questioned by any impartial observer. The time has again come round when the Abolitionists may wisely assemble themselves together once more to take counsel one with another, to see whereabout they and the country stand, and to discover what course of conduct they ought to take, the country and themselves, demands at their hands.

And what a change has come over the horizon of the nation since we last met together in this city! Then slavery seemed to have established its throne forever. It was supreme in the councils of the nation, at home and abroad, and there was no reason then to anticipate the suicidal folly which led them into their present predicament. Apparently, they had only to strike hands with the Northern Democrats and they could control the destinies of the American people for long years to come, as they had done for long years past. There was nothing on the surface then to indicate a plan of killing the simple bird which had laid golden eggs for them so long. With the Charleston Convention, and the factious destruction of the Democratic party, that the success of its opposite might afford the pretext for an outbreak, the comprehension of the schemes of the slave-drivers began slowly to dawn on the Northern mind. How slowly, we all remember, and how effectually the imbecility of Buchanan promoted the thievish tricks of Floyd and the treacherous cabals of Davis. These traitors believed that they could compel a new adjustment of the Union by which slavery should be secure from any attack from within, and have the whole boundless continent opened to its conquests without. Failing of this, they felt sure of all the slaveholding States, with friendly alliances abroad and a strong party at the North—a nation of one mind as to slavery, as to the reopening of the slave trade and the indefinite extension of its domain. We will not recall the blessed insolence with which they treated all others of whatever they had ever asked, and the strides with which they stalked to their design. The first gun fired at Fort Sumter

alone aroused the North to a sense of the reality of the situation, and it awoke as a strong man started from slumber. The vast resources which the occasion has developed, and the energies which it has called forth we need not recite, and cannot even glance at. Nor yet at the changing fortunes of the battle-fields and at the suspicions and doubts which have clouded many minds as to the counsels of the Cabinet. We do not by any means, think the battle won. The South has shown capacity and resources which have astonished the world. In generalship, up to this point, perhaps the North must wail to her. Though the golden scales in which all events, battles and realms, are pondered, seem to incline on our side at present, it is by no means certain that some weight may not yet be in reserve which may exceed our scale "quick up fly and kick the beam!" The Merrimac nearly did this a few weeks since. Who knows that she may not yet turn the scale against us?

We do not question the power of the United States to suppress this rebellion in the end. As many more men and as many more millions can be had, if necessary. Even if Halleck fail at Corinth, or wherever else Beauregard may make his stand, and should defeat stamp the Fabian policy of McClellan as imbecility instead of strategy, and another surrender, ignominious as the first was glorious, make Yorktown doubly historical, we should not despair of the Republic, but believe that it will organize final victory out of disaster. But however events in the field of the Cabinet may come to pass, it is the business of the Abolitionists to set to it that their clients, the slaves, suffer no detriment, but, contrariwise, reap advantage from them. It is for this purpose that we shall come together next week, and it is that our work may be well done that our numbers should be large and our hearts filled with the wisdom that is profitable to direct. There never has been a time, since the Anti-Slavery Movement began, that it was not a potential agent in the affairs of the nation. The slaveholders and their Northern accomplices have all along acknowledged this to be true. They saw, from the beginning, the power that lay in the truth which we set apart to preach. They believed that, if not silenced, we should greatly prevail in the end. Like the devils, they believed and trembled. That the present wholesome crisis has been occasioned by the change produced in the public mind by anti-slavery agitation is generally felt and acknowledged. There never was a time when only the wisest discretion should guide our words and our action like this. What we say and do will be marked, and will have an immediate and practical weight such as we could never claim before. Time has been when the only thing to do was to startle the public into attention by any rhetorical effects not inconsistent with the absolute truth, in order to compel it to think of what it was doing, and what the slaves was suffering because thereof. Height of coloring, intensity of expression, severity of denunciation, were all legitimate methods for producing all the effects then possible. But the tone of the public is changed. It now listens with new ears. It needs enlightenment rather than excitement. Let there be no lightly considered words uttered, no hasty or ill-advised action taken. How to guide aright the mighty events that are coming rolling on is the great concern which should engage our thoughts. Little time need be given to the miscreants who are striving to check their progress with their ineffectual fingers, or to the vermin whom they will soon crush into annihilation if they linger in their path. Anti-Slavery is now a Power on Earth, and the Abolitionists are its ministers. On the discretion, the forecast, the wisdom, they exhibit in their high office, depends the extent and weight of the influence it is to exercise. All who come up to our assembly next week should feel the responsibility that lies upon each one of them, and see to it that the power of pure anti-slavery influence is increased and not injured by all that they say and do.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

The tide of public feeling respecting slavery has risen to such a height as to have lifted the ponderous body above named from a position where it had seemed permanently moored. It has become necessary, in view of the approaching downfall of slavery, that the American Tract Society should vacate the post it has so long held, of ally and supporter of that institution. But it is an invariable part of its policy, when retreat becomes necessary, to move with such dignified deliberation that only those who watch for the change shall see it in process, and that the confiding people from whom the money comes shall still suppose its Managers to be pursuing a direct, and honest, and consistent course. As soon as it became plain that the overthrow of slavery had commenced, these keen-sighted Managers began the indispensable change of attitude. But nobody can accuse them of too great precipitancy in the matter. They certainly took even gradualism in a homeopathic dose, commencing their change of position by publishing something in condemnation of that particular form of the African slave trade which was practised by West Indian planters in the last century, and which was formally prohibited by the British Parliament in 1807. Their boldness in Christian reform, in 1862, has actually reached the point of republishing the speeches of Wilberforce and Fox in 1791, and the act prohibiting the British slave trade, which was passed, as far as we know, to help them in the discharge of "duty." Sad to say, our Churches, which have been educated and corrupted under their tuition, will probably be found to have continued slaveholders ever since.

So much for the particular publication we have been considering. But the Managers of the American Tract Society, in their monthly paper, *The American Messenger*, have for four months past pursued a similar course, cautiously edging round from that utter silence respecting slavery which has heretofore best suited the wishes of the slaveholders, to a position more accordant with the changed and still changing public opinion of the North. The February *Messenger*, at the close of an article on the Marriage Institution, hoped that its blessings might soon be accorded "to all now in bondage"; and, in an article on the Elevation of the Colored Race, declared that the Gospel is intended to remove all evils from humanity, "the evils involved in the institution slavery not excepted." The *Messenger* for March, with a degree of falsity and impudence unrivaled by the highest of its former achievements in that line, informs its readers that—"So far as this rebellion is one of the fruits of slavery, it is a gratifying fact, that, while the Society, on the one hand, has assented nothing to irritate, on the other it has issued no line or word in any way favoring that system." And the April number of the same publication, after a leading article gravely querying whether our free institutions can resist the pressure of reckless radicalism on one hand, and of congealing conservatism on the other!—whether the power developed in our present struggle may not lead the strong to oppress the weak!—and whether the faith of the Constitution can be kept with the slave States, and yet the freedom of speech and of the press be secured in those States!—contains a first-rate puff from a clergyman in Connecticut, praising one of the articles above mentioned as follows: "It is important not only for the weighty truths it contains, but as indicating a purpose on the part of the Publishing Committee to discuss in a kind and Christian, but firm and manly way, those evils connected with slavery which are most palpably opposed to the spirit of Christianity."

The movement of Northern feeling against slavery was gaining ground so fast, and the action of Government was moving so decidedly in the same direction that *The Messenger* for May, the present month, was veered round more rapidly than any of the former ones. Its leading article, though stuffed with enormous and most impudent deceipts, commenced with the statement of a truth, as follows: "The American Tract Society has sought faithfully to adhere to its character of a national Society." This is disgracefully true. Not even the Vicar of Bray ever stuck to government favor more closely than this association has done. While the

first of these is that deceptive document, the "Act of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1818," a compromise extorted from that body by the strenuous demand of the "Bible Society Recor"; and the very ground taken in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in that long upholding of slavery in their Cherokee and Choctaw Churches, which has now resulted in a union of those Indian nations with the Southern rebels.

Let it not be forgotten that this is the very ground taken by the American Bible Society, in their official publication

all its constituent parts, are allowed an indefinite continuance.

Our reasons for calling this famous Presbyterian document deceptive are the following: while it has always been held up by such slaveholders as really have been pressed with the charge of a pro-slavery position in their Church as really anti-slavery in character, and thus amply justificatory of the Church, even if it condemned their individual slaves; and while it really contains so much and so strong language against slavery as to leave this impression upon the mind of a careless reader; it nevertheless, and side by side with the above, contains the following assumptions and permissions, making it practically a supporter of slavery:

It assumes the slaveholding of Presbyterian ministers and church-members to be not a sin, but only "an evil," and not voluntary, but "entailed upon them."

It discourages immediate emancipation.

It discourages agitation against slaveholding in the Church.

It proposes the expatriation of colored Americans, and praises the slaveholding founders of the Colonization Society.

It not only expressly licenses a continuance of slaveholding, but suggests the teaching of the slaves that God authorizes their enslavement.

It allows slaveholding, and forbids only "cruelty" to slaves. And, finally—

It allows the sale of slaves without even inquiry on the part of the Church, unless the slave as well as the master is a church-member.

Who can wonder that the slaveholding Presbyterians and church-members who voted this document in 1818 have continued to be slaveholders ever since?

Who can wonder that the majority of these same ministers and church-members have since joined the rebellion, and supported the war, both commenced in the interest of slavery, which are now desolating the country?

Who can wonder that the Presbyterians Board of Missions accepted Rev. Cyrus Byington as a missionary, and still employ him in that work, entirely regardless of the well-known fact that he suffered a slaveholder to burn alive a slave (both members of his mission-church in the Choctaw nation, under the patronage of the A. B. C. F. M.) without making the slightest attempt to call the murderer to account, either before the law or before the Church?

The Presbyterian Church continues to be, as it has been for a century past, one of the strongest supporters of slavery in this country.

So far, then, as we have gone in the examination of the American Tract Society's new book, we find that it allows and excuses the slaveholding of this country, and condemns nothing but the old slave trade between Africa and the West Indies. We proceed in the examination.

The second document in the pro-slavery part of the book is entitled—"The Substance of the Plan of a Committee of the Synod of Kentucky for the Instruction and Emancipation of their Slaves, 1835." It gives a faithful and impressive picture of the various features of injustice and cruelty which constitute slavery; so full, so striking, and so terrible is this description that it is plain as daylight that nothing less than immediate emancipation could be the appropriate remedy. The Committee, however, do not recommend this. They recommend that deeds be drawn up and recorded by each master, securing emancipation to his slaves at some (unspecified) future time, and, meanwhile, they propose that the master should retain the same legal authority (which they admit to allow the unpunished exercise of every sort of brutality short of murder) for greater "impositions" than any they are at present liable to—the imposition of heavy burdens, and of heavy whips, of contempt and curses from the profane, and of hypocritical exhortations, yet more annoying, from the pious clerical parasites of their masters. Probably some of the very men and women now at Port Royal felt obliged to utter to Dr. Southside Adams, when he was there, the enormous lies that he has embodied in his books, respecting their contentment and happiness in slavery. Their claims upon the philanthropist and the Christian were yet stronger than now, but you, Reverend gentlemen, have no evidence that any one of the Presbyteries of the Synod of Kentucky regarded them, or that a single slaveholder in the State, or even a single member of the Committee, acted upon either class of the recommendations of the Report.

The third, and last document in the pro-slavery part of this book has the following title:

"The Duty of Masters: A Sermon preached in Danville, Kentucky, in 1846, and then published at the unanimous request of the Church and Congregation. By Rev. John C. Young, D.D., President of Centre College, and Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Danville, and revised by the Author."

Dr. Young was a member (and the clerk) of that very Committee of the Synod of Kentucky which concurred in the Act of the General Assembly in 1818, of which we have just spoken. His sermon, which we are now to notice, preached eleven years after that Report, is worse in character than that, not recommending even gradual emancipation, and repeatedly assuming that slaveholding is right, and that God appoints, permits and approves it. His exhortation (very exceptional and remarkable in the case of a slaveholding minister) that slaves be taught to read the Bible is more than any they are at present liable to—the imposition of heavy burdens, and of heavy whips, of contempt and curses from the profane, and of hypocritical exhortations, yet more annoying, from the pious clerical parasites of their masters. Probably some of the very men and women now at Port Royal felt obliged to utter to Dr. Southside Adams, when he was there, the enormous lies that he has embodied in his books, respecting their contentment and happiness in slavery. Their claims upon the philanthropist and the Christian were yet stronger than now, but you, Reverend gentlemen, have no evidence that any one of the Presbyteries of the Synod of Kentucky regarded them, or that a single slaveholder in the State, or even a single member of the Committee, acted upon either class of the recommendations of the Report.

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concession have happily prevailed, and the question has been settled unanimously, finally, and from what we learn of the treaty, faithfully—confering honor on the distinguished negotiators, who will receive, as they richly deserve, the thanks and plaudits of the friends of peace and humanity throughout Christendom."

South Carolina Correspondence.

Port Royal, S. C., April 23d, 1862.

The Editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.
Your Port Royal correspondent did not promise to be regular. If you have had only a link or two in the chain which would have been had he gone only to write these, you must not complain. After quite an interval, if he chooses to give you another link, you may count it rather a favor than the fulfillment of an obligation; and this link is the last.

As I am about to leave Port Royal, I wish to gladden the hearts of your readers. It is probable that you have heard that there are indications here that the government is likely to move in the right direction. I

am credibly informed that Gen. Hunter is authorized to receive volunteers from the colored men here and to organize them into companies and regiments. Clothing and arms are said to be on the way. It is the intention

to employ one portion of them at work one week and

on drill the next; and the other portion in like manner,

until the whole are thoroughly drilled. Then they will

be employed in holding forts, manning guns, and in any

service necessary to the holding of those portions of

the South now, or to be, in the possession of the U. S.

Such is the programme, as I am informed by those who

ought to know. The contrabands at Hilton Head are

to have a public (private) meeting next Friday night to

see what they will do—whether they will take up arms

against the rebels. Among those with whom I have

conversed there is but one judgment. They are ready,

they will be glad to fight against the rebels on the

condition that the government will promise them free

soldiers. And no better policy could be adopted by the

government, for if Northern soldiers remain in the Gulf

or in South Carolina through the hot season, especially if they lie in tents, many of them will never

see autumn. No doubt the rebels hope that if the war

be continued through the sickly season, disease will do

more for them than their own arms. To prevent sick

ness and promote the comfort of the soldiers in the

Second Brigade, it is said that Gen. Benham intends to

quarter them in the houses of Beaufort.

It gives me great pleasure to communicate the fact

that Gen. Hunter has commenced the good work of giv

ing free papers to all negroes who have been employed

by the rebels in the war. This will give freedom to

very many, especially mechanics, and those who have

lived in towns. I have had the pleasure of seeing one

of these official documents. I copied it with my pencil

and give it to you verbatim.

E PLURIBUS UNUM.

It having been proven, to the entire satisfaction of the General commanding the Department of the South, that the bearer, named Lazzy, heretofore held in involuntary servitude, has been directly employed, to aid and assist those in rebellion against the U. S. of America;

Now, it is known to all, that agreeably to the laws,

I declare the said person free, and forever absolved

from all claims to his services. Both he and his wife,

and his children have full right to go North, South,

East or West, as they may decide.

Given under my hand, at the Headquarters of the

Department of the South, this nineteenth day of April,

A. D., 1862.

D. HUNTER, Major-General Commanding.

Now, Mr. Editor, is not that noble? Will not this re

join the hearts not only of many slaves, but of multitudes of their friends? But is this all that the govern

ment can do? Are governments to have no money, no

humanity, no justice, except as they may be exercised

by what is called the war power? If Lazzy is set free

because he happened to be employed by his master or

the Confederate powers in working on a fortification,

why should not Sam also, who was employed in raising

corn to feed Lazzy while working on the fortification?

And so on indefinitely, until all would be free? I know

a slave in Beaufort, a tailor, who was employed in cutting

garments for the rebel soldiers. He will be freed.

In the same shop was another slave who made coats

for the gentlemen—the Rhets and the Barnwells—

who took the lead in getting up the rebellion. He will

not be freed. The provision will not affect him. Is

not this a distinction without a difference?

The friends of the slave have reason to hope that under Gen. Hunter's jurisdiction the condition of the colored people on these islands will be ameliorated. Already the pro-slavery people here are beginning to call him an abolitionist. So far from doing what the New York *Herald* advises, expel the missionaries, and teachers, he will favor them?

In a former communication I gave you illustrations of Gen. Stevens's unwillingness to favor the missionary movement—or his manifest pro-slavery spirit. A still

more forcible illustration was afforded in his appointment as superintendent of the hundreds of contrabands by the overseer, as an office, stands an implement of torture that the negroes call "the cross."

Two upright posts are fastened in the ground, about three and a half or four feet apart. At the top they are fastened together by a cross-beam. In this "cross" the offender is fastened, hand and foot, by irons or ropes. The arms are stretched to their utmost extent, and the wrists fastened by cords to the cross-beam overhead. Then the legs are spread out as far as possible, and the knees or ankles fastened to the upright posts. Last Sabbath day a poor man was in irons all day, because he had not reported himself for work the day before. Sabbath morning, on coming for rations, he told the overseer that he was sick, and could not work. The overseer did not believe him, and so, to punish him, put him in irons and kept him there all day. Some of the men living in the same house with him told me he was very sick—wholly unable to work. One would suppose that men of so much sagacity and power as are many of these laborers, would not submit to such indignities and tortures. But here, as always, the power is on the side of the oppressor. Martial law rules; and this inquisitor, by order of Gen. Stevens, is supplied with armed soldiers who stand guard at the place, ready to back up the orders of this official with bayonet.

Being told by the colored people that some poor sufferer was in the cross, nearly all the time, I determined to go and see for myself, and, if possible, break up the inquisition. On going, I found no one in the cross, but on going into a back shed, where torture inflicted would not be so public as in "the cross," I found a young man tied up with ropes, by the wrists, to a beam overhead. No one could continue long in this position without enduring torture. I asked the sufferer for what he was punished. He said he had worked one month for the government without pay, and then had hired with the captain of a boat without informing Mr. Broad, the overseer. My soul sickened at the sight, and I resolved not to rest without an effort to break up this inhuman system of torture. Calling on Rev. Dr. Peck, and informing him of what I had seen, we went to Broad and inquired about the facts, and whether he had authority from Gen. Stevens for his conduct. He replied in the affirmative, and justified his conduct. Subsequently, Gen. Stevens was appealed to, but to no effect. Last evening, on coming down to Hilton Head, I called on Gen. Hunter, and informed him of the above facts. This morning I learn that he has issued orders to Broad to have him immediately dismissed from office and sent out of the country. Who that has a heart will not be glad? Let tyrants perish! When men, who—

"Clothed with a little炳's authority,

Play such frantic tricks before high Heaven

As make the angels blish."

meet their just reward, all the good rejoice. Gen. Hunter's order is not only an act of justice, but it will bring joy to many a heart sick with inhumanity to man. I am far on my way home. The Atlantic is to sail to-morrow, when I will be homeward bound. Though glad to turn my back upon soil long cursed by slavery, and now cursed by war, and doubly glad to set my face toward home, sweet home, from whose dear enjoyments I have been long separated, I am, nevertheless, sorry, very sorry, to have to leave those people for whose elevation I have been laboring. Among them I have found men—noble-hearted men—true Christian men, of whom South Carolina is not worthy. In their welfare I have become deeply interested; to many of them I have become greatly attached; and I rejoice that I have been permitted to spend two months of missionary labor among the contrabands of Port Royal.

W. R. J.

P. S.—Let not the reader mistake Broad as the name of the Superintendent at Port Royal. Far different are the character and conduct of Mr. Lee, and his assistant Mr. McMath, of Hilton Head, who are Christian gentlemen, and manage hundreds of contrabands with ease, never resorting to such cruel measures. Love controls, and arms are said to be on the way. It is the intention to employ one portion of them at work one week and on drill the next; and the other portion in like manner, until the whole are thoroughly drilled. Then they will be employed in holding forts, manning guns, and in any service necessary to the holding of those portions of the South now, or to be, in the possession of the U. S. Such is the programme, as I am informed by those who ought to know. The contrabands at Hilton Head are to have a public (private) meeting next Friday night to see what they will do—whether they will take up arms against the rebels. Among those with whom I have conversed there is but one judgment. They are ready, they will be glad to fight against the rebels on the condition that the government will promise them free

soldiers. And no better policy could be adopted by the

government, for if Northern soldiers remain in the Gulf

or in South Carolina through the hot season, especially if they lie in tents, many of them will never

see autumn. No doubt the rebels hope that if the war

be continued through the sickly season, disease will do

more for them than their own arms. To prevent sick

ness and promote the comfort of the soldiers in the

Second Brigade, it is said that Gen. Benham intends to

quarter them in the houses of Beaufort.

As I am about to leave Port Royal, I wish to gladden the hearts of your readers. It is probable that you have heard that there are indications here that the government is likely to move in the right direction. I

am credibly informed that Gen. Hunter is authorized to receive volunteers from the colored men here and to organize them into companies and regiments. Clothing and arms are said to be on the way. It is the intention

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FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD:
COLUMBIA'S SHAME.
BY AUGUSTA MOORE.

TOLL, toll the bell!
Our country's star is falling!
Hark! all the hosts of Hell
Rejoice with glee appalling.
With palid brow Columbia stands,
The dark blood dripping from her hands.

Daughter of Liberty,
What bath defiled thy garments?

Loathsome they are to see,
Like foul, worm-eaten car'sons.
What horrid deed, what awful sight
Has turned thy blooming features white?
Her blood-stained hands the goddess raised,
And wildly on their hue she gazed,
With darkly rolling eye;
Then her clear glance of living flame,
Revealing well her matchless name,
Turned on me mournfully.

"My children make me wile" she said.
Then heavily her regal head
Was bowed by grief and shame.
"Oppression sits within thy gates;
Dishonor on thy footstep wails;
My sons pollute my name.

"My hands they wet in guiltless blood,
And in a black and dismal flood.
Of avarice, lust and pride,
Whose loathsome, foul and fatid waves
Howl fiercer than a maniac raves,
My rest are they have dyed.

"My dark-browed children's walls are borne
To greet me on the breath of morn,
And on the air of eve.
I may not stay the cleaving lash,
For quivering flesh and cruel gash
I have but power to grieve.

"Hark! hearst thou not those clanking chains?
Hearst thou not those they chill my veins,
Hear those bitter cries!"
Thus spake Columbia, and her tones
Seemed pregnant with the tears and moans
Of all her agonies.

A broad upon the passing gale
The heaven-born mourner poured her wail,
Worthy a great heart riven.
And shrieks and groans and curses blent,
From myriad bursting hearts, were sent
With her loud wail to heaven.

The Judge of Nations heard it all,
And soon it's avenging sword will fall,
Hot with devouring ire;
Columb's sun in blood shall set—
Columb's soil with blood be wet,
Be purged by blood and fire.

Then the Dark Enemy,
Whose lurid crown is gleaming
Amid his hosts, shall see

A brighter morning beam,
When Freedom's glorious banners wave
High o'er Oppression's deep-dug grave.

* Written the year of the reviving of the Fugitive Slave law.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION NOT TO BE BLINKED.

From Brownson's Quarterly Review for April.

SLAVERY is now the question, the great question, the whole question before the American people, and it depends on the disposition we make of that question whether we are or are not to continue to be a nation. We cannot blot it, if we would. It enters vitally into the struggle of the nation for life, and we must dispose of it, so that it can never again come up, or all our efforts will be idle, and all our sacrifices of men and money will be worse than lost.

The Southern Confederacy, against which the United States are now hurling their armed forces, rests on slavery as its cornerstone, and derives from it the very reason of its existence. Grant, if you insist upon it, that the sole object of that illegal and dangerous Confederacy is not the preservation or extension of slavery, still the objects of that Confederacy, the ends for which it has been formed, demand the continuance of slavery. The preservation and extension of slavery may not be the end the rebels have in view, but slavery is the indispensable means to that end.

It is, we suppose, the object of the United States in the present civil war to break up the Southern Confederacy, to put down, and utterly extinguish the present rebellion, and, as far as human foresight and human ability can go, to guard against any like rebellion in future. The aim of every nation should be, first of all, self-preservation, or the maintenance of its own existence and the integrity of its territory. Our nation can do this only by rendering universal either the slave system or the free labor system, legalizing slavery everywhere in the land, or permitting it nowhere. Were we to beat, as we are beating, the armies of the Confederacy, and crush its present military power, we should, so long as slavery occupied its former position, at best gain only a truce for some few years, no solid or durable peace. The embers of the rebellion would still smolder, ready to break out and burn afresh at the first opportunity. The slaveholding interest might consent again to govern and use the Union for its own ends, but it would not be extinguished, and would break out in a still more formidable rebellion, and again convulse the nation, the moment that the interest of free labor should show itself able and determined to assert its own rights and legitimacy.

It is useless to multiply words about it. There can be no permanent union of freedom with slavery, no national unity and integrity with the other. We have tried the experiment for the best part of a century, and it has failed, utterly failed. Freedom has made all conceivable sacrifices to slavery. Compromise after compromise has been consented to. We have suppressed the utterance of our noblest convictions, down all that we could to stifle the irrepressible instincts of humanity, lest, by some word or deed, we might endanger the safety of the Union, and the result has been contempt on the part of the South for the Union-saving North, and the present rebellion. A new trial of the experiment can succeed no better, for the people of the loyal States, if they would retain the slightest approach to self-respect, cannot possibly make greater concessions, or do more than they have already done, to render practicable and permanent that union. The experiment has failed, as fail it always will and always must. It is not constitutional, it is not representative, as some of our European friends pretend, that has failed; but the attempted union of freedom and slavery, of two essentially hostile and mutually repellant systems in the same State.

We cannot, then, repeat, blink the question of slavery if we would. It meets us on the very threshold of the controversy in which the nation is now engaged, and they who petition Congress to put down the rebellion and let the negro question alone, and they who imagine that the present rebellion can be suppressed and extinguished without disposing of the slavery question at once and forever, only show, if not their lack of loyalty, that they have thus far comprehended simply nothing of the terrible question which now involves the life or death of the nation. The advertisement of some players, that they would present on the stage on a given evening Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out by particular request, has long been referred to as a capital joke; but the joke is not half so capital as that of those worthy people in the discussion of our present national affairs leave out, by particular request, the slave question. Why, the slave question is the whole question, that without which there never would or could have been any question at all.

To refuse to agitate the question of slavery is simply to refuse to agitate any question at all really important in the present crisis. The whole question of extinguishing the rebellion, of restoring the unity and integrity of the nation, and of sustaining our national life and securing future glory, turns on the slave question. You may, as we have said, beat the rebel armies; you may even gain victories by sea and by land; you may even gain an armistice or a truce; but to suppose that you can reestablish peace, and be really a nation, unless you go farther, and remove the cause and mainspring of the rebellion is sheer folly, absolute fatuity.

The old notion of freedom with slavery under one and the same constitutional government has failed. Slavery, not freedom, has broken it, and broken it, we would grieve forever. You cannot restore it, if you would, and you should not, if you could. No man is worthy of the name of statesman, who does not assume this as a fixed fact, and take it as his starting-point in all discussions having reference to our present difficulties and their final settlement.

The slave interest, treated with the utmost tenderness, and allowed to have its own way in almost everything from the very origin of the government, has declared its secession from the Union. It has declared its secession and separation final and irrevocable. It is for freedom to take it at its word. For ourselves we accept the declaration, and insist

THE SOUTH CAROLINA REFUGEES.

[Among the Chaplains of the Union army in South Carolina is the Rev. W. P. Strickland, D.D., formerly one of the editors of the *Christian Advocate* and *Journal*, the national organ of the Methodist Church. In one of his letters to that paper from Dufawskie Island he gives the following account of two refugees from slavery.]

They were from Barnwell district on the mainland. Several weeks ago they left their owner, a widow Stevens, whose plantation is about one hundred miles above Savannah. They lost their way several times, as they could only travel by night. When asked how they knew where the Yankees were, they said, "We heard your guns, massas, and they seemed to call us this way." Once they were surprised by pickets, and in their flight one of them was shot through the arm and ear; but, preferring death to slavery, they heeded not their pursuers and escaped. "We knew, massas," said the "day" who could run faster, "dan' dy could, and dy had no blood-hounds." Living on raw potatoes, which they foraged on the farms, and wading across and swimming creeks, at length they reached Cooper river and crossed over to our pickets stationed above us on the island. From thence they came to our camp.

The one who was wounded in the arm and ear had been a house servant, and he was of course, better acquainted with the movements of our army, as he heard the conversations of the family from time to time on the subject. What is strange in the history of these contrabands is the remarkable fact that they were all of one mind in regard to the character of the war. Their masters told them that the Yankees were coming to take them off to Cuba, or to kill every one of them; but of the thousands here none of them believed it. Nothing but a divine inspiration could have produced, in the absence of all instruction, such a general impression. The trumpet proclaiming the year of jubilee to the slaves in the Jewish nation did not utter a more certain sound to those poor oppressed and downtrodden slaves than was the boom of our cannon a sound of redemption to the slaves of these islands. No music is so sweet to their ears as the scream of our shells, or the whiz and hum of our rifled shots.

The other contraband, whose name is Pompey, was a field hand. He is twenty-two years of age. I asked him if he was married. "A. Lincoln is now, with Tancy to say 'wuz all leg and fair," An' a jury of Democrats ready to say 'em. They don't intend to make no more connections: But they're jes' like the train on the rail."

The one who was wounded in the ear had no blood-hounds. "Living on raw potatoes, which they foraged on the farms, and wading across and swimming creeks, at length they reached Cooper river and crossed over to our pickets stationed above us on the island. From thence they came to our camp.

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